The CRISIS

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April, 1957

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Sue Cook of New York City—Photograph by Layne's Studio.

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PRESIDENT C. W. MAXWELL *of William Penn Business Institute, Philadelphia, Pa., makes final payment on NAACP life membership to Jackie Robinson, chairman 1957 NAACP fight for freedom campaign drive.*

- **"The impact of this book upon the political consciousness of Africans everywhere is going to be decisive"**

The Birth of a Nation

By George Padmore

THE publication of Dr. Nkrumah's autobiography[1], under the title of *Ghana,* coincides with the independence of his country. Its appearance at this time is in itself a unique achievement. It can be compared with the appearance of the memoirs of a general who, having conducted a successful military campaign to liberate the Fatherland from foreign occupation, reveals on the day of victory celebration the tactics and strategy he employed against his opponent to achieve his objective. This is the essence of the book and so makes it the most important political document yet to come out of Africa.

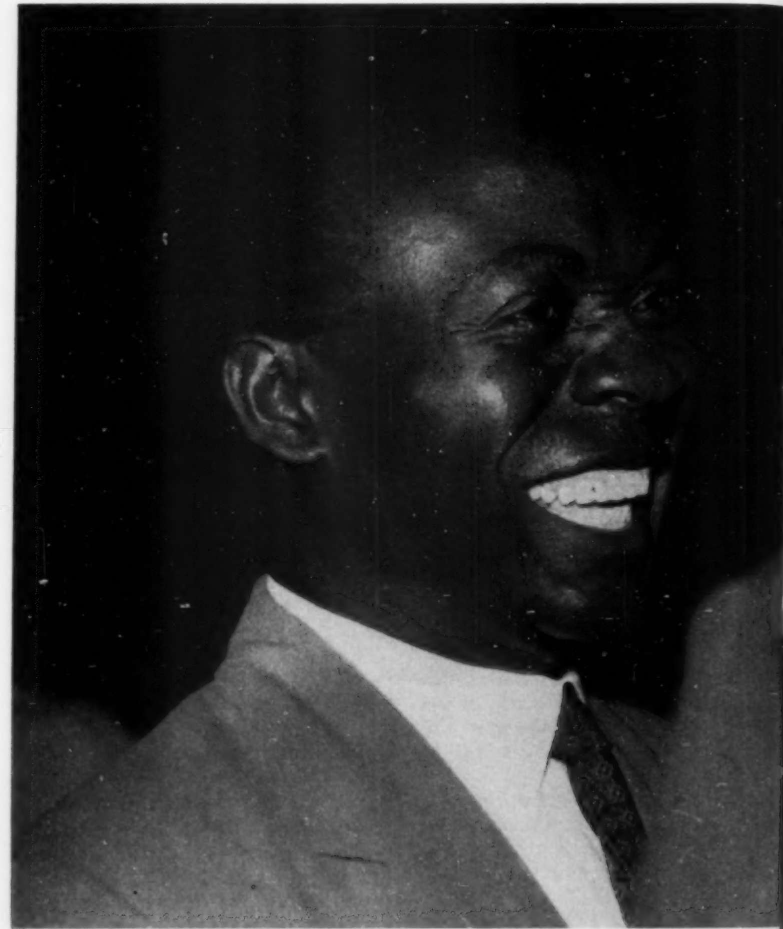
There can be no doubt that this book will exert a tremendous influence upon the future of race relations throughout Black Africa south of the Sahara, and it was with this hope that Dr. Nkrumah undertook the work. "Our example must inspire those who are still under foreign domination," declares the Prime Minister of the first country in Black Africa to gain independence from colonial rule. "In this belief I have written the story of my life so far. If in any way it helps the cause of freedom it will have served its purpose."

About this the Liberator of Ghana need have no doubts. The impact of the book upon the political consciousness of Africans everywhere is going to be decisive. I am confident that it will do for the Negro liberation movements what Tom Paine's *Common Sense* did for the Americans in their most difficult period of revolt against British colonialism—give faith, confidence and inspiration to the Africans in other parts of the continent who are still struggling to achieve democratic rights, racial equality and self-determination. It will do even more. It will provide them with a political programme and

---

[1] Ghana: The Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah. New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1957. XVI+302pp. $5.00.

GEORGE PADMORE, *a frequent* Crisis *contributor, is a personal friend of Prime Minister Nkrumah. Mr. Padmore has himself told of Dr. Nkrumah's rise to power in his book,* The Gold Coast Revolution *(1953).*



United Press

PRIME MINISTER *Kwame Nkrumah smiles happily during the ceremonies marking the end of the British colony known as the Gold Coast and the emergence of the sovereign state of Ghana. Ghana became, on March 6, the ninth member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.*

a guide in non-violent techniques of Positive Action, which Dr. Nkrumah describes in great detail.

Apart from the political significance of *Ghana*, it is a fascinating human document: the inspiring story of the life and struggles of a poor boy who, by his own exertions, has risen to the highest office in his country and established for himself a firm place in the history of modern Africa as the outstanding statesman of his race.

The book opens with an amusing narrative surrounding the birth of the author forty-seven years ago in the small village of Nkroful in the extreme southwest of the Gold Coast and tells of his early childhood. Here we get a picture of the typical social life of a Fanti community, mostly engaged in farming and fishing. Nkrumah's father was, however, a goldsmith and his mother, obviously a woman of sterling character, of whom he writes with touching affection, exerted a strong moral influence upon her son. Describing his early childhood, Nkrumah writes: "My family lived together very peacefully and I can remember very few quarrels. The women of the house used to take turns each week to cook the meals and look after my father and at the same time either worked in the fields or did some petty trading in order to supplement the family income. It was a wonderful life for us children with nothing to do but play around all day. Our playground was vast and varied, for we had the sea, the lagoon and the thrill of unexplored bush all within easy reach. But we had no toys."

MINISTRY *of Agriculture building, Accra, Ghana, West Africa.*

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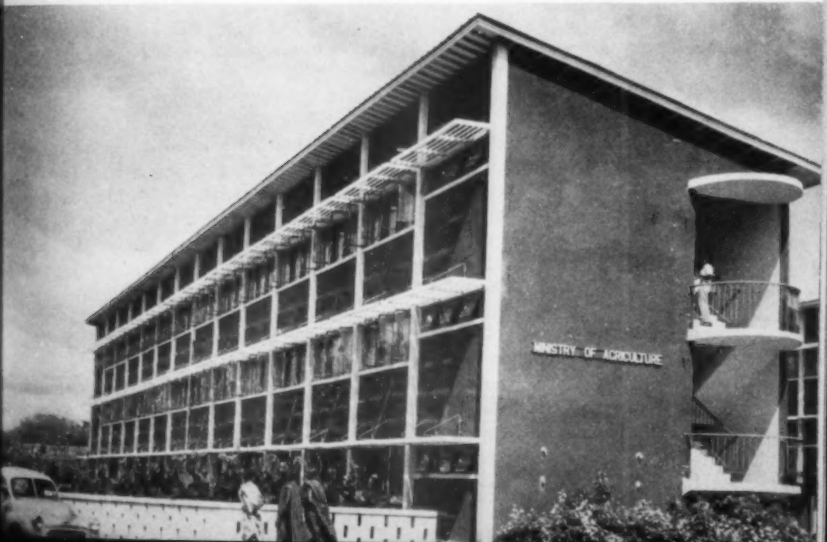

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THE *almost completed Ambassador Hotel, Accra, Ghana, will be the largest in Ghana, with accommodation for 100 double bedrooms, a large tea lounge, banquet hall, bar and restaurants and public dining rooms.*

Like most Africans, the Nkrumahs had a passion for education, so as soon as young Kwame was old enough to attend the local mission school, off he went. On completing eight years of schooling, he became a pupil teacher at the nearby town of Half Assini. A year later, he got a scholarship to the newly established teachers' training college at Achimota. This was a great leap forward in his life, for it brought him under the stimulating influence of the distinguished African educationalist, Dr. Aggrey, the vice-principal. It was during this period at Achimota that political consciousness was awakened in Nkrumah and other young students by the nationalistic writings of Dr. Azikiwe, the present prime minister of Eastern Nigeria, who was then editing a Gold Coast paper, *The Accra Morning Post*.

Both Dr. Aggrey and Dr. Azikiwe had been educated in America and had returned to Africa to render service in their respective spheres in the advancement of their people. Their examples inspired Nkrumah to give up his teaching in a Roman Catholic institution and go off to America. His limited savings, augmented by the generosity of two relatives, gave him a modest sum of $600, out of which he paid for a third-class passage via Liverpool, which left him with the equivalent of $160 on which to start his educational career when he arrived in America in October, 1935. He applied to enter Lincoln University in Pennsylvania without the financial means to pay his way, but the dean, being kindly, accepted him, it being understood that he would have to work. Working one's way through college is a well-established custom in America, and Nkrumah did all kinds of manual labor to finance his studies. It is this practice which, undoubtedly, leaves American-educated Africans with more of the common touch than most of the Oxford-Cambridge black elite.

At the end of ten years of strenuous life in America, where besides receiving many academic honors he acquired a rich and varied experience in politics, he decided to return to his country in order to render service to his race. He interrupted his homeward journey by a stay of two-and-one-half years in England. It was during this interregnum in Great Britain that Nkrumah became seriously involved in nationalist politics.

Shortly after his arrival in early

UNDERGRADUATES *and dean at a Ghanian university.*

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Mrs. Roosevelt speaks at banquet celebrating independence of Ghana. Standing at left is John Akar, Ghana program officer; seated, Seth A. Onwona, president Gold Coast Students Association of USA and Canada.

Robert Walker

INDEPENDENCE *Festival Banquet of Gold Coast Students Association of USA and Canada held on February 8 at Carnegie Endowment International Center, New York City.*

Robert Walker

summer, 1945, he became associated with the Pan-African Movement founded by the distinguished Afro-American scholar, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois. Arrangements were then being made for the holding of a Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester in October of that year, and Nkrumah was co-opted onto the organizing committee as one of the secretaries: Out of this conference emerged a program and strategy for the non-violent African Revolution. When he returned to the Gold Coast at the end of 1947 to become the secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, Nkrumah was well versed in the techniques of political organization and was armed with a clear political objective: the complete independence of Ghana as the first stage towards a United West African Federation.

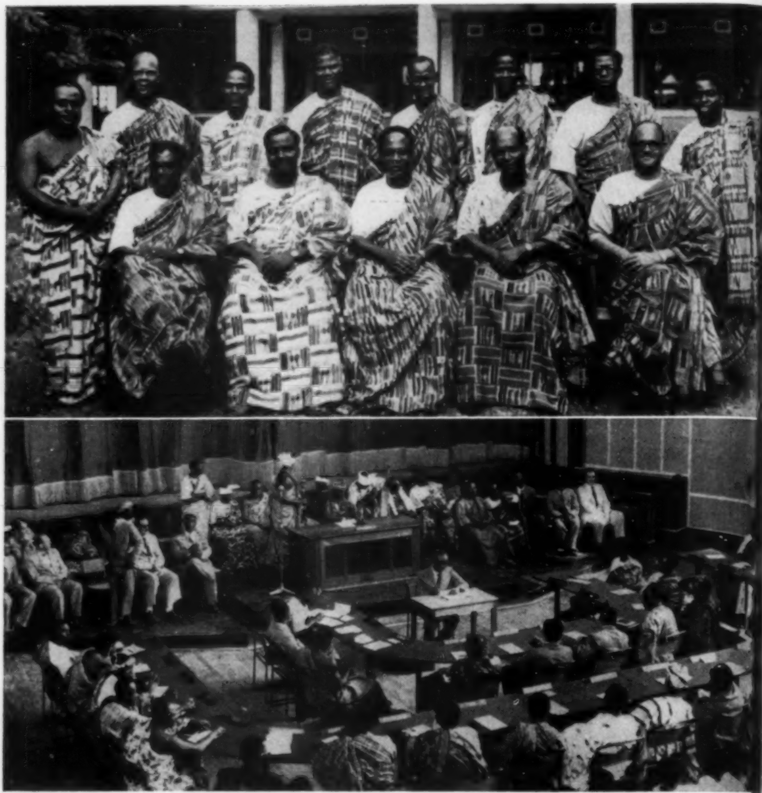
TRUMPED-UP PROSECUTIONS

His relationship with the U.G.C.C. was not a happy one, for the aims and objects of the founders of that organization were diametrically opposed to the aspirations of the common people, to whom Nkrumah was dedicated. He gives an honest account of his disagreements with the leaders of the U.G.C.C. and the circumstances which led to his parting company with them and the formation of his own Convention People's Party in June, 1949. The full story surrounding the establishment of the C.P.P. is told in a chapter entitled "The Birth of My Party", and is followed by a detailed account of the events leading up to "Positive Action", which brought Nkrumah and his colleagues into head-on collision with the colonial officials of British imperialism.

After surviving a number of trumped-up prosecutions brought against the C.P.P. newspaper editors and leaders, Nkrumah and several others were eventually imprisoned. It was while he was in jail, under conditions that should shame even a totalitarian regime, that the first general election under the "bogus and fraudulent" Coussey Constitution took place. Nkrumah tells for the first time how he directed the C.P.P. election campaign from his prison cell, using toilet paper as his medium of communication with his colleagues outside the jail. Enough is told without revealing the operations of the "underground railway"; but it is obvious that even those Africans who nominally were on the side of the imperialists were in spirit with him. Without these "operators", Nkrumah's links with the masses, to whom he pays generous tribute throughout the book, party unity could not have been maintained and the party would have been isolated from its leader and finally crushed by the forces of imperialism and their agents.

WINS ELECTION

Emerging victorious from this first electoral campaign, the very authorities who had imprisoned Nkrumah were obliged to release him in order to form the Government. "Tactical Action" now replaced "Positive Action," marking a further stage in the struggle. Having routed his political opponents at the polls, Nkrumah was now able to consolidate his political position in the Legislative Assembly,



British Information Services

GHANA'S CABINET—*Front row, seated, from L: A. E. Inkumsah, minister of housing; Kojo Botsio, minister of trade and labor; Prime Minister Kkrumah; K. A. Gbedemah, minister of finance; A. Casely-Hayford, minister of communications; (standing) A. E. A. Ofori-Atta, minister of local government; N. A. Welbeck, minister of works; B. Yeboah-Afari, minister of agriculture; J. H. Allassani ,minister of health; J. B. Erzuah, minister of education; L. R. Abavana, minister without portfolio; Ako Adjei, minister of the interior; and Krobo Edusei, minister without portfolio.* BOTTOM: *Inauguration of new Accra Municipal Council. In the foreground are the councillors, and facing them are the president, the minister of local government and housing and officials of the ministry.*

while at the same time using his party as a battering ram against those political opposition groups which emerged one after the other. Within three years of taking office, Nkrumah, who by that time had been officially recognized as *de jure* Prime Minister, was sufficiently entrenched to be able to get the Constitution reformed to allow the Gold Coast to wield full internal autonomy under an all-African Cabinet. In the elections which followed in June, 1954, preparatory to the introduction of the new changes, the position of the C.P.P. was further consolidated by its being returned to office with an overwhelming majority of 72 out of 104 seats. The way was now clear for the final transfer of power.

Realizing that their days were numbered, the forces of reaction decided upon exploiting every grievance, real or imaginary, within the Gold Coast, in the hope of delaying, if they could not defeat, the attainment of immediate independence. All the discredited politicians who had been eliminated in previous contests gathered around to create a new opposition under the banner of the National Liberation Movement. The centre of this opposition was based on Kumasi, and thanks to the support of the Asantehene and the Asanteman Council was able to call up a mass following by exploiting the tribal chauvinism of backward rural sections still under the domination of feudal autocracy. With their allies, especially the Northern People's Party, another sectional organization, the N.L.M. embarked upon a campaign of violence on the one hand and intransigent tactics on the other. In all of these, they had the encouragement and support, both open and covert, of certain imperialists in the Gold Coast and in Britain, who recognized that the coming of independence would bring to an end their term of untrammelled exploitation and overlordship.

HUMAN CLOSE-UP

How Nkrumah met and overcame these various crises is told with commendable objectivity and detachment in a chapter entitled "The Final Test". The book closes with a chapter appropriately headed, "The Hour of Triumph", in which the Prime Minister gives a very human close-up of himself, describing his emotions when the Governor handed him the official despatch from the Secretary of State fixing March 6, 1957, as the date of independence. A man able to sleep even under the most trying conditions, Nkrumah, on the night following the good tidings "lay for a long time sleepless while the whole story of life passed before me like some kind of pageant. I saw myself as a boy in Nzima, as a proud scholar in Achimota, as a struggling student at Lincoln; I saw myself in London where my studies gave way to politics; my return to the Gold Coast; the struggles that ensued both from within and without; detention, positive action, imprisonment; my final acceptance as a politician—events which were only the beginning of bigger and bigger struggles and intrigues. Then, after almost ten long years of it all, those few words that represented the end of the road, the end of what had sometimes seemed to be a never-

Vice-President Richard Nixon shakes hands with Ghana minister of communications Casely-Hayford (left) as Mrs. Nixon and minister of trade and labor Kojo Botsio (right) look on following the Nixon's arrival at Accra airport.

United Press

CENTRAL LIBRARY *at Accra, Ghana, West Africa. There are about 190 Ghana students studying in the United States. Accra, capital of Ghana, is the largest city in the nation with a population of 150,000.*

British Information Services

Robert Walker

ASSISTANT *director of education of Ghana, B. A. Brown (facing camera) attends Independence Festival dinner, New York City.*

ending struggle; just a few words on paper handed over to me quietly by the man who had both imprisoned and released me and who had since afforded me every encouragement in my arduous task. 'The 6th of March,' I said to myself. 'The 6th of March. *The 6th of March . . .*' "

The book ends with a call to the new phase of the struggle, for there can be no standing still in the long march which will extend freedom's frontiers from Ghana to the ends of the Continent. "African nationalism was not confined to the Gold Coast, the new Ghana," Nkrumah points out as he comes to the end of his narrative. He tells his people that "from now on it must be Pan-African nationalism, and the ideology of African political consciousness and African political emancipation must spread throughout the whole continent, into every nook and corner of it.

"I have never regarded the struggle for the Independence of the Gold Coast as an isolated objective but always as a part of a general world historical pattern. . . . Our task is not done and our own safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa."

Ghana's independence is just the beginning of Pan-African freedom. It is this wider vision that places Dr. Nkrumah so high above the political leaders in other West African territories, who are either tribal chauvinists or self-centered nationalists—the "big fish" in small ponds!

February 26, 1957

His Excellency
Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah
ACCRA, Gold Coast
West Africa

My dear Mr. Prime Minister:

At the instructions of the Board of Directors of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, I have the honor to transmit to you the following resolution adopted unanimously at the regular monthly meeting of the Board in February, 1957:

> "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People hails the emergence of Ghana as a new and independent nation. This historic event presages the complete reclamation of the Continent of Africa by its indigenous peoples.
>
> "We extend hearty felicitations to the people and government of Ghana and wish for them every success in this great new venture. We are confident that Ghana will play a significant role in the family of nations and will give further inspiration and encouragement to peoples and to countries yet to achieve their freedom."

The above resolution was adopted at the conclusion of warm, enthusiastic and admiring comments by various members of the Board on the historic emergence of Ghana as a state.

Respectfully yours,

/s/ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary

rw/mdj

February 18, 1957

His Excellency, Kwame Nkrumah
Accra, Gold Coast, West Africa

Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

It was most gracious of you to invite me to attend the ceremonies which will be held in Accra between March 2 and 10 to mark the attainment of independence by the Gold Coast under the name of Ghana.

I regret very much that certain developments in the United States with which the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is deeply concerned will prevent my leaving the country at this period.

To the official greetings and good wishes of the NAACP which are being sent under separate cover, I should like to add my own personal felicitations and prayers for the success of the new nation of Ghana.

Many of us in America know of the years which devoted and dedicated leaders of your country have given in work and sacrifice, in training and self-discipline, and in inspiration and guidance to bring a proud people from colonialism to independence and self-government.

I salute, of course, all the people of your country, but I offer to you, as the inspired leader, a special word of congratulation and good wishes for the future.

It is my earnest hope that while I shall be unable to witness the historic occasion of early March, I shall be able at a time not in the too distant future to visit in Ghana.

With great respect, I am, Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ROY WILKINS
Executive Secretary

RW/esf

■ **The story of ancient Ghana, from which Gold-Coast Ghana gets its name**

The Empire of Ghana

WHEN the Gold Coast became independent Ghana on March 6, 1957, it was perpetuating the name of an ancient West African empire. Historical Ghana was the West African kingdom northwest of the Niger in what is now French West Africa, and was more probably Mandingo than Akan. Her recorded history is found in the writings of such Arab annalists as Iban Haukal, El Bekri, A. Edrisi, Yakut, Ibn Battúta, *et alii.* The country was called Kumbi by its inhabitants, but Ghana by the Arabs; and at various times it was also known as Ghanata and Walata. El Bekri, who visited the country in the eleventh century, says that "Ghana" was the title given to the sovereign and that the country was called *Aukar*. He also adds that the people were anciently known as *Towrooth* or *Taurud*.

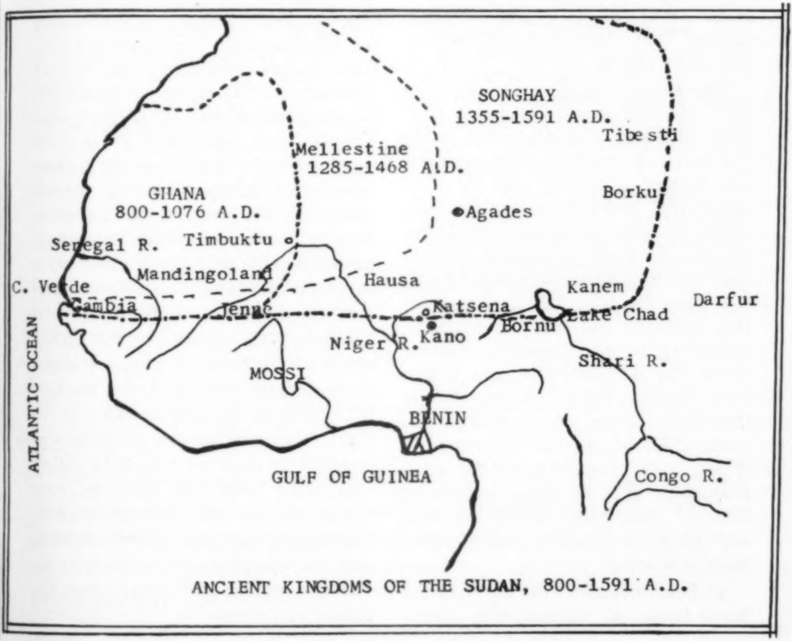
Little is known of the actual boundaries of Ghana in ancient times, but it was probably situated in the desert near the present towns of Nema and Walata in the district of Aukar, about 300 miles west of Timbuktu. At one time the kingdom stretched from Timbuktu to the Atlantic.

No one knows when the story of Ghana begins, although records show that the empire dates as far back as the fourth century A.D. There is, however, evidence to suggest that Ghana was founded as early as 700 B.C., for Mahmoûd Kâti (*Tarikh El-Fettach*) and Es-Sa'di (*Tarikh-es-Soudan*) report the rule of forty-four white princes before the black princes arose, twenty-two of these came before the Hegira (A.D. 622) and twenty-two after it. Yet there is no proof that white kings reigned over Ghana before the Hegira, for when the Arabs first knew Ghana, they found the black Sarakolle in possession. What probably happened was this. The "whites" ruled the small Semitic settlements on the periphery of Ghana until they were absorbed by the expanding black empire. There is no mention of Ghana in the legends of these people, and at no time did the Semites—really mulattoes—ever have a real kingdom.

Among the dependencies of Ghana were Sama, Garantel, Gardiaro, Galam, and Lemlem. "On the South, the dependencies of Ghana stretched," says Maurice Delafosse, (*Les Noirs de l'Afrique*), "to the other side of the Senegal river, and as far back as the gold mines of the Falémé and the Bambuk, whose product fed the treasury of the Sissé and served to operate fruitful exchanges with Moroccan caravans coming from Tafilalit and from the Dara; they extended even as far as Manding on the upper Niger. Towards the east, the limits of the kingdom reached nearly to the region of the lakes situated to the west of Timbuktu. To the north its influence was felt in the very heart of the Sahara and its renown had penetrated as far as Cairo and Bagdad."

CIVILIZED KINGDOM

Ghana was well organized and as civilized as any European state of the period, and superior to most. The Ghanians were a sedentary people who cultivated their lands and devoted themselves to cattle and sheep raising. There were spinning and weaving industries; workers in gold, silver, and copper; and a lively commerce in kola-nuts, gold dust and gold, and amber and ivory from Bagdad and Cairo. The sovereign or *Kaya-Maga* collected taxes on all imports; one golden *dinar* was collected on each load of imported salt, and two *dinars* on each load going out.


SONGHAY
1355-1591 A.D.
Tibesti
Mellestine
1285-1468 A.D.
Borku
GHANA
800-1076 A.D.
Agades
Senegal R.
Timbuktu
Mandingoland
Hausa
C. Verde
Kanem
Darfur
Gambia
Jenne
Katsena
Lake Chad
Bornu
Kano
Niger R.
Shari R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MOSSI
BENIN
GULF OF GUINEA
Congo R.

ANCIENT KINGDOMS OF THE SUDAN, 800-1591 A.D.

All gold nuggets belonged to the sovereign, and Ibn-Haukal says that the *Kaya-Maga* had one of thirty pounds to which he used to tie his horse. Gold dust and pieces of salt were the usual medium of exchange.

The empire had two separate capitals situated about six miles apart, with the space between the capitals covered by suburbs and gardens. One capital, with its mosques, was for the Muslim population; the other, called El Ghaba or the Forest, was for the non-Muslim population. In addition to its twelve mosques with their *imans,* their *moweddens,* and their salaried readers, Muslim-town was "the resort of the learned, the rich, and the pious of all nations." They came from Egypt, Fezzan, Ghadames, Tuat, Dra, Sus, Sidjilmessa, and other places.

The *Kaya-Maga* or sovereign lived in a fortified castle furnished with glass windows, and decorated inside and out with sculptures and pictures. The houses of royalty and the rich, generally "very elegant," were built either of stone or acacia wood, but the people lived in typical African huts. Their clothing consisted of cotton, "fine Egyptian fabrics," explains Ibn Battúta, and silk or brocade, according to their means. Talking about the hospitality of the Ghanians Battúta says: "When he [a traveller] comes to a village the womenfolk of the blacks bring out millet, milk, chickens, pulped lotus fruit, rice, *fúní* (a grain resembling mustard seed, from which *Kuskusú* and gruel are made), and pounded haricot beans."

El Bekri describes the court of the *Kaya-Maga* in considerable detail. When the King appeared in public, wearing a gold collar and bracelets, he was surrounded by guards and pages bearing gold-inlaid sabers. The pages had nuggets of pure gold braided into their hair. The people saluted the King by prostrating themselves with extended elbows and closed fists. Fists would then be raised, with extended thumbs, and lowered three times in the gesture called *poussi-poussi* (push-push) by present-day Mossi. More than 10,000 meals were served by the King every evening in the light of the flickering braziers.

COMPLETE SECURITY

"There is complete security in their country," Battúta adds. "Neither traveller nor inhabitant in it has anything to fear from robbers or men of violence. . . . They do not confiscate the property of any white man who dies in their country." Wars even were allowed for only a short time, "and on condition that the diverse parties find a real interest in common." Battúta says, "They are seldom unjust and have a great abhorrence of injustice." The King always administered justice himself, from a pavilion. All ministers and town chiefs sat in front of him, ten pages stood behind him, and the sons of the prince of the empire stood at his right. Entrance to the pavilion was guarded by dogs wearing gold collars and silver bells. The hearings were announced by *deba* or drum beats, complaints were heard and adjusted, and the accused who refused to acknowledge their guilt were given the ordeal of poison.

When the *Kaya-Maga* died his body was placed on a platform under a wooden canopy covered with carpets and pillows. His utensils, ornaments, and arms were then placed around his body. And there were food and drink guarded by the servants entombed with him. Two of the most famous rulers of Ghana were Tenkamenin (1067-1068), who could, according to El Bekri, put 200,000 men in the field, of whom 40,000 were archers; and Tin Yeroutan (961-971).

Ghana reached its apogee during the middle of the ninth century, and with its wealth and power the empire became an irresistible temptation to the marauding Berbers of the Sahara. The Berber king of the Lemtouna raided Aougam with 50,000 Meharis. The Almoravides (*al-morabetîne,* the "marabouts," those who inhabit a *ribât* or monastery) invaded the country in 1076; the king of Soso in 1203; and the king of Mandingo in 1240. The Almoravides, fanatical Muslims, fought to shake off the yoke of the Sarakolle kings of Ghana because they considered them champions of paganism. Parethetically, the conquered Sarakolle adopted the religion of their conquerors and subsequently became the foremost Muslim missionaries of the western Sudan. The Soninké recaptured Ghana in 1807, but the empire had fallen. In 1203 Ghana became a vassal of the Sosso empire. The progressive decline of Ghana began, it is believed, with climatic changes, long before the pillages of her enemies. The rivers had dried up, the soil had ceased to produce, and the choking sands of the Sahara had extended into the area. Bonnel de Mézières, the explorer, excavated the site of Ghana in 1914 and "found there the vestiges of a great city corresponding very exactly to that described by Bekri, with ruins of hewn stone constructions, sometimes scupltured."

Thus ended Ghana or Kumbi after 1500 years. This great empire died, its peoples have vanished, but first they enriched civilization and left a legacy and a monument to black genius and African hopes as symbolized in the Ghana of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah.

(Note: While it is commonly believed that Guinea is a corruption of Ghana, it is more probably a corruption of the Arabic *Djinni* or *Guinni,* which the English probably adopted from the French form *Guinée.*)

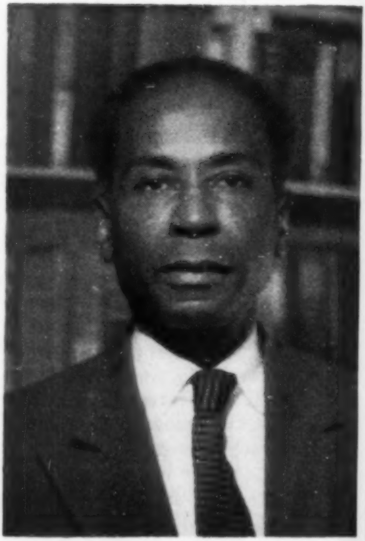
J. W. I.

A project initiated more than a year ago by Ghana's Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah, in talks at Accra with Sir Christopher Chancellor, head of Reuters, has resulted in inauguration of The Ghana News Agency, abbreviated GNA. The people of Ghana will now be kept in daily contact with news sources all over the world.

Ghana's Silent Hero

GEORGE PADMORE has lived to see the free Ghana for which he has fought so long and so ardently. But this is only partial fulfillment of his dream of a free Africa. Mr. Padmore, who has played an active role as mentor and political guide to most of Africa's nationalists, is the silent hero of Ghana and a figure venerated and respected throughout black Africa. He is a close friend of Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and was one of the first Europeans to describe the rise to power of the Ghanian leader.

Born in 1903 in Trinidad, christened Malcolm Nurse, he is the son of a distinguished botanist who held the position of senior agricultural instructor in the Trinidadian department of education and who was a fellow of the Entomological Society of London. Mr. Padmore was educated at St. Mary's College, Trinidad, and at Fisk and Howard universities. He majored in history and political science at Fisk; then he enrolled in Howard where he studied law. The late Dr. Alain Locke, Howard professor of philosophy, exercised a great influence upon Mr. Padmore and Mr. Padmore still talks of his one time teacher in almost reverential tones.


GEORGE PADMORE

Mr. Padmore became aware of the dreadful economic and social status of the masses of Negroes while still a student and began to take an active part in advocating reforms in

(*Continued on page* 252)

■ A personal friend portrays one of Haiti's great statesmen

Haiti's "Youngest" Ambassador

By *Mercer Cook*

"NOW that Dantès Bellegarde is no longer in power . . .," I began.

"M. Bellegarde will always be in power," my Haitian friend interrupted.

This brief conversation took place in 1943 during my first visit to Port-au-Prince. At the age of sixty-six, Dantès Bellegarde had "retired" to his books after a brilliant career as educator, minister of agriculture and public instruction, delegate to the League of Nations, minister to Paris, Geneva, and Washington—to mention only a few of his important posts.

In 1946, after the overthrow of the Lescot régime, he returned to Washington as ambassador. The next year he again "retired." When the Estimé Government fell in 1950, he served as chairman of the commission that drafted Haiti's newest and most democratic constitution. Then for two years he headed the Haitian delegation to the United Nations. Again he "retired" briefly, only to be selected by the UN as a member of the three-man commission to investigate race relations in South Africa. In January 1957, at the age of seventy-nine, after the passing of the Magloire administration, he returned to Washington as ambassador.

Paradoxically, Mr. Bellegarde's achievements have been realized despite his detachment from the various factions that create an atmosphere of intermittent political ferment in his homeland. He has steadfastly refused to run for any office, to play color politics, or to compromise with his principles. On the other hand, he has never hesitated to speak out for what he considers just, whether it be women's rights or peasants' rights, anti-racism, morality in education and in government, Pan-Americanism, or international cooperation.

DR. MERCER COOK, *formerly Supervisor of English-Teaching Project in Haiti, is head of the Department of Romance Languages at Howard University, Washington, D.C.*

ELOQUENT SPEAKER

He has defended these causes with an eloquence which at the old League of Nations was rated second only to that of Aristide Briand and in 1952 caused Pasteur Vallery-Radot, of the French Academy, to refer to Bellegarde as one of the most brilliant orators he had ever heard. At the League of Nations, for example, he spoke out extemporaneously against the inhuman treatment of the Hottentots in South West Africa. So impressive was his appeal that Englishmen themselves, like Professor Gilbert Murray, joined him in demanding an investigation of the atrocities. Thirty-six years ago in Geneva he declared: "A day will come when the League of Nations will have to concern itself with the race problem, when it will have to work for the disappearance of racial differences, differences marked by ill-treatment meted out to particular races and resulting in a menace to universal peace."

In another speech delivered in Geneva on October 3, 1953, he observed:

> The apartheid policy has created for the South African Union a situation fraught with danger. It is a dangerous *domestic* policy because it is likely to impede the economic development of the country by an inapplicable system of racial separation and because it tends to form within the population a focal point of poverty and hatred that will serve as a breeding ground for communism, as General Smuts himself foresaw. It is a dangerous *foreign* policy because, by reviving Hitlerian racism, the South African Government has aroused the indignation not only of millions of colored people but also of all those who have placed their hope and faith in the United Nations for the establishment in the world of peace, justice, and solidarity founded on respect for human rights.

DANTES BELLEGARDE

Bellegarde's eloquence is not flowery; it stems rather from his evident sincerity, his logical, clear presentation, his vibrant personality. Blessed with a ready wit and an ability to think on his feet, he rarely allows a manuscript to come between him and his listeners. Moreover, his unusually rich experiences have provided him with an almost inexhaustible supply of anecdotes which he quotes appropriately and delightfully. I doubt that Dantès Bellegarde could ever make a boring speech. His impressive appearance also contributes to his effectiveness as an orator.

Thus it is not surprising that he is much in demand as a speaker, both in Haiti and abroad. He has been a visiting lecturer at the University of Puerto Rico, and at Laval, Atlanta, and Howard Universities. Several of these institutions, notably Howard and Laval, have awarded him honorary doctorates. Among his many honors we should perhaps include a public attack by Russia's Andrei Vishinsky on the floor of the UN General Assembly in Paris in 1951.

ENDURING PRESTIGE

M. Bellegarde's eloquence, for all its exceptional qualities, would not suffice to explain his enduring prestige, some of which must be attributed to his exemplary private life. Visit his comfortable but unpretentious home just off the Champ-de-Mars and see him *en pantoufles,* surrounded by his gracious wife, children, and grandchildren. Countless tourists can attest to his warm friendliness which embraces the foreign dignitary who comes to renew old acquaintance or the humble student, armed with a letter of introduction, coming to seek advice. A glance at the happy Bellegarde family and the walls lined with books in Spanish, French, English, and Portuguese, helps one to understand the serenity with which this distinguished Haitian has accepted his numerous "retirements." Here, between lectures at the Haitian-American or the French Institute, he somehow finds time to carry on his voluminous correspondence, to write articles or books, without ever seeming too busy to welcome the unexpected guest. In a volume published last year, *Red, Black, Blond and Olive,* one of his recent visitors, the eminent critic Edmund Wilson, describes him as "a very polished and upright old gentleman, a Mulatto almost white, with his stiff hair worn *en brosse* like a Frenchman." Many, including M. Bellegarde, would question the "almost white" reference, but none would challenge the appropriateness of the terms "upright" and "polished."

A prolific author, Dantès Bellegarde has published a score of volumes—anthologies, textbooks, histories, collections of his articles and speeches—in Port-au-Prince, Brussels, San Juan, Montreal, Paris, and Geneva.[1] Several of these works remain important landmarks in Haitian letters: such as the two-volume *Morceaux choisis d'auteurs haïtiens,*[2] crowned by the French Academy half a century ago; or *La Résistance haïtienne,* (Montreal, 1938), compulsory reading for any serious student of modern Haiti. Though not especially sympathetic, Edmund Wilson says of this work that "it is sober and documented, and it relies for its criticism of American policy mainly on quotations from American sources." His two most recent volumes are *l'Histoire du peuple haïtien,* (Geneva, 1953) which Selden Rodman calls "the best 'official' history of Haiti in French by a contemporary Haitian,"[3] and the shorter *Haïti et son peuple,* (Paris, 1953).

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[1] For a more detailed study of these works, see Auguste Viatte, *Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française* (Paris, 1954), or my article, "The Writings of Dantès Bellegarde," *Books Abroad,* Summer, 1949.

[2] "En collaboration avec MM. Solon Ménos, Amilcar Duval et Georges Sylvain."

M. Bellegarde writes a lucid, direct prose, as crystal-clear as his conscience. He has sometimes been criticized for presenting too rosy a picture of Haitian life, for emphasizing the promising rather than the primitive, the Christian rather than the sensational. Even if the charge were true, his portrayal would still be commendable as a corrective to various accounts written by prejudiced detractors.

OPPOSED HAITIAN OCCUPATION

He opposed the nineteen-year occupation of his country by U.S. Marines on moral and legal grounds, but he did not allow his opposition to become rabid. As minister of public instruction he tried to cooperate with occupation officials at least to the extent of improving Haitian schools. As minister to Washington (1931-1933), he helped pave the way for the recall of the Marines. His *résistance,* vigorous but honorable, won for him the admiration and lasting friendship of many North Americans, white and black. Incidentally, one of the alleged reasons for his recall in 1933 was that he had been too friendly with U.S. Negroes.

On June 3, 1946, as he presented his credentials as ambassador to President Truman, he said: "It gives me great pride to be called once again to work for the success of a task to which I devoted myself wholeheartedly during my first diplomatic mission to Washington: that of making increasingly cordial and fruitful the relations between my country and the United States, and of assuring the complete and sincere collaboration of each of the twenty-one American Republics in every segment of international life."

Several months later, on being summarily recalled from Washington, M. Bellegarde visited several of his friends to recommend enthusiastically the ambassador who would replace him. This unusual gesture was typical of the man.

Another incident, which dates back to 1943, should be mentioned here. After the Lescot Government had made the teaching of English compulsory, the U.S. Office of Education, at the request of the Haitians, sent a group of teachers to get the program started. One Haitian intellectual heatedly accused Uncle Sam of trying to substitute English for their official tongue. M. Bellegarde, ardent defender of French culture though he was, ridiculed the charge and even collaborated with the supervisor of the project in the preparation of a textbook for use in English classes: *The Haitian-American Anthology,* (Port-au-Prince, 1944).

One of M. Bellegarde's closest associates was the late Dr. L. S. Rowe who, for a quarter of a century, directed the destinies of the Pan American Union. The two had met in 1927; since that time, whenever M. Bellegarde came to Washington, in an official or unofficial capacity,

(*Continued on page* 253)

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[3] *Haiti: the Black Republic,* (N.Y., 1954; p. 139).

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

NEW HOSPITAL GROUP

A NATIONAL conference on racial integration in hospitals held in Washington, D. C., March 8-9, voted unanimously to seek an amendment to the Hospital Survey and Construction Act of 1946 deleting provisions for racial segregation. The conference, described by its chairman, Dr. W. Montague Cobb of Washington, as the first of its kind, was sponsored jointly by the NAACP, the National Medical Association, and the Medico-Chirurgical Society of the District of Columbia.

Dr. Cobb is chairman of the NAACP national Health Committee as well as a member of the Association's board of directors.

Commenting on the conference proceedings, Dr. Cobb said: "A large amount of little-known information was secured, which laid the basis for a sound program for future constructive action." A second meeting is planned for next year, he noted.

In addition to specifically seeking an amendment to the Hospital Survey and Construction Act, the conference voted unanimously to work "continuously and vigorously, in a spirit of amity" until racial "discrimination has been eliminated from hospitals in the United States."

The delegates heard a proposal from Rep. Barratt O'Hara of Illinois that private voluntary hospitals which practice racial discrimination be deprived of their tax exemption status as a just penalty for such practices.

Other speakers at the conference included Congresswomen Florence P. Dwyer of New Jersey; Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary; Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the National Medical Association; Dr. Edward C. Mazique, persident, Medico-Chirugical Society; and Dr. Robert S. Jason, dean, Howard University College of Medicine.

Conference sessions dealt with the incompatibility of racial discrimination with good hospital policy, the necessity of free access to hospital facilities in order for physicians to render maximum service, and conditions in local hospitals, including those built with federal funds appropriated under the Hill-Burton Act.

Nearly 200 delegates from 21 states attended the conference. They represented the NAACP, the National Medical Association, the National Urban League, and various medical and hospital societies.

The meeting was designated the Imhotep National Conference on Hospital

MORE *than sixty leaders of NAACP branches and state organizations in eastern Pennsylvania, southern New Jersey, and Delaware blueprint plans, at their Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, meeting, for their 1957 membership drives. At the blackboard conducting the discussions are (from L) Marian Stewart, Lucille Black, from the national office; and Calvin Banks and Gertrude Gorman, field secretaries.*

Integration. Imhotep was an Egyptian physician, architect, priest and scholar, who lived about 3000 B.C.

FLORIDA SECRETARY QUESTIONED

A JOINT legislative committee of the Florida state legislature, continuing its probe into the activities of the Association, questioned Robert L. Saunders, the NAACP's field secretary for Florida, during the month of March.

In an effort to prove that Mr. Saunders personally handled memberships in the state, Mark Hawes, committee counsel, questioned him closely about the processing of the membership application of one Raul Garcia of Tampa who, acting as a decoy, sent in a $15-check to the state office with a letter expressing his "interest in the welfare of Negroes" and asking for literature and membership in the Association. Memberships, he explained, are handled by the local branches and the national office.

Further attempt was made to secure information from Mr. Saunders about records of the Association, about the structure of the organization, about his duties as field secretary, and about other NAACP personnel. Particularly, counsel queried the NAACP representative about his duties as compared with those of the Association's field secretary in Texas.

In response to a question about branches soliciting plaintiffs for civil rights cases, Mr. Saunders testified that it was against NAACP policy to solicit plaintiffs.

Questioned about the filing of school segregation petitions by NAACP branches, Mr. Saunders cited the First Amendment upholding the right of petition. Mr. Hawes interrupted the testimony at this point declaring:

"We didn't ask for that and don't want it in the record." On his demand, the reference to the U.S. Constitution was stricken from the record.

NAACP branch officers who have testified before the committee include Rev. Theodore R. Gibson, president, and Mrs. Ruth W. Perry, secretary, Miami branch; G. E. Graves, attorney. Twelve Tampa parents who had signed petitions asking the school board to desegregate the schools were also called before the legislative committee.

WILKINS' TELEGRAM

THE following telegram was sent on March 9 by Roy Wilkins, NAACP executive secretary, to Ernest McEwen, president of the Student Council of Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Lorman, Mississippi. The 570-member student body of Alcorn went on strike on March 8 in protest against a series of articles which history Professor Clennon King was writing for the Jackson, Mississippi, *State-Times*. The articles were critical of the NAACP's role in the anti-segregation fight in the South. The students also accused Professor King of backing the White Citizens Council.

LEADERS *from eastern branches, Region II, pictured at a planning conference in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. They are (seated from L) Lucille Black, membership secretary; Gertrude Gorman, field secretary; and Marian Stewart, life membership campaign; standing, Calvin Banks, field secretary, Region II; Wagner Jackson, president Delaware state conference; F. D. McLean, membership chairman, Gloucester county, New Jersey; Ruth Dorsey, membership chairman, central Delaware branch; Rev. James Austin, president Gloucester county branch; and Dr. George Jones, president Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, branch.*

COUNCIL FOR EQUAL
JOB OPPORTUNITY
HOUSE
EQUAL TREATM
LL !

CONTRIBUTIONS TO FREEDOM FUND—*Mrs. Myrtle Carter of the Bridgeport, Connecticut, branch presents John Morsell, assistant to the NAACP executive secretary, a $1,000 check for the NAACP Freedom Fund on behalf of her branch. In the picture, from L, are Robert Thompson, Mrs. Carter, Dr. John Morsell, and McDonald Isaac, Jr., branch president.*

Here is the text of Mr. Wilkin's telegram:

"National Association for Advancement of Colored People appreciates spirit of students in opposing views expressed by Prof. Clennon King, but we deplore any pressure which denies him free speech on integration. We believe King is mistaken, but under our system of government any person has a constitutional right to express his opinion on any issue. We demand this right for ourselves and we must protect it for others. We wish free speech for all persons in the South of both races and on both sides of the integration issue without muzzle or reprisal of any kind. The issue cannot be settled fairly unless everyone is free to debate. We remain confident that in such free debate the ironclad segregationists cannot win. We trust that some satisfactory settlement may be reached which will assure the return of students to classes and at the same time preserve Prof. King's right to freedom of expression."

WILKINS TESTIFIES

ROY WILKINS told a subcommittee of the Senate judiciary committee in February that the Negro's long patience in the face of "continuous violence" may be nearing an end.

Supplementing his testimony before the committee on behalf of twenty-five national organizations, Mr. Wilkins, on February 19, warned the committee members that he could not "predict what mood would be engendered" among Negro citizens if Congress failed to pass legislation assuring them "a minimum safeguard of the constitutional rights which have been so long denied them."

Mr. Wilkins testified on behalf of pending civil rights measures which would provide civil remedies against interference with the right to vote, authorize the Department of Justice to initiate civil suits on behalf of persons deprived of their civil rights, set up a special civil rights division in the Justice Department, and establish a bi-partisan commission to investigate violations of civil rights.

Queried by Senator Sam J. Ervin (D., N.C.), the NAACP leader agreed that the voting rights of Negro citizens in North Carolina are more secure than in Mississippi or Alabama. However, he pointed out, there are only about 145,000 registered Negro voters in the state out of a potential of 550,000. This is far below the national average, Mr. Wilkins said, and would seem to indicate restraining factors which keep nearly three-fourths of Negro citizens of voting age away from the polls.

Recalling that "the period from last September up until February had been marked by almost continuous violence directed at Negro citizens and groups in the South who seek the elimination of discrimination and segregation," Mr. Wilkins told the senators that "Negro citizens have been outraged, but they have been patient."

Thus far, he said, "Our people have maintained their hope in spite of specious talk, rebuffs and violence. Under advice of some dedicated men they have followed a non-violent course in the face of extreme provocation. Under advice of others, notably the NAACP, they have placed their trust in the law, the courts, in legislative bodies, and in the orderly processes of government.

"What they are asking of this Congress, and what sincere men of both parties are seeking to give them, is a minimum safeguard of the constitutional rights which have been so long denied them. But in the face of this patience, in the face of these provocations, even this minimum is being challenged."

freedom

is not a gift we

LIFE MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

KIVIE KAPLAN DR. BENJAMIN MAYS

CO-CHAIRMEN

Kelly Alexander
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A. Philip Randolph
Walter Reuther
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
George S. Schuyler
J. J. Simmons, Jr.
Ike Smalls
A. Maceo Smith
Dr. Channing H. Tobias

Send to your local branch or the

N.A.A.C.P.

20 West 40th Street
New York 18, N. Y.

I wish to become a Life Member of the NAACP.

☐ I enclose check for $..........

as first payment toward a Life Membership.

☐ I enclose check for $500 for full Life Membership.

Name..........

Address..........

City and State..........

ceive . . .

it's a privilege

we earn!

you strike a mighty blow for racial freedom when you become a Life Member of NAACP

When racial equality is side tracked, to be taken up at some other time, in some other place, by some other race; when the democratic principles of the Constitution are denied, as they are now denied to the American Negro in some parts of the South . . . it is time to fight. The NAACP has been fighting and will continue to fight to bring a first-class citizenship to all Americans, regardless of race. We have made progress, but the bitterest part of the struggle lies ahead. We need your help . . . morally and financially, if we are to battle against racial injustice. Won't you help us? Subscribe to a Life Membership in the NAACP . . . today!

Annual installments of as little as $50 or more, sent to either your local branch of NAACP or the New York headquarters, can make you a Life Member in this vital crusade.

Barbara Prestwidge (TV "Name that Tune") and Gloria Lockerman (second from right) (spelling champion) making contributions to the collection for the NAACP freedom fund at Baltimore, Maryland, rally held in Sharp St. Memorial Methodist church. Jackie Robinson and branch president Mrs. Lillie Jackson assist.

Dr. Albert Laforest (center) receives NAACP life membership plaque for the Me-De-So Club of Baltimore, Maryland, from branch treasurer Dr. Charles E. Watts and branch president Mrs. Lillie Jackson.

Mrs. Samuel Williams, state youth adviser to the New Jersey NAACP, presents youth council charter to Herman Irving, president of the Paterson, New Jersey, youth council.

Herman Irving

Mrs. Mary Price, office secretary, explains the branch complaint form to A. P. Bentley, chairman of the finance and budget committee of the Columbus, Ohio, branch.

Pierce Studio

Atty. Elwood Chisolm of the NAACP legal defense staff, smiles $$$ as he receives $200 check from the Ladies' Auxiliary of the North Harlem Dental Society, New York, for work of NAACP legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. Looking on are (from L) Mrs. Fred Watson, treasurer; Mrs. Arthur Donnelly, Mrs. Duncan Thorne, Mr. Chisolm, and Mrs. Julius Richmond.

Layne's

Mrs. William Hodson presents copies of "The Family of Man" to (from L) Compton McKenzie, British Guiana; Alexander Liu Fu Iu, Formosa; and Robert Edwueme, Nigeria; on behalf of the Klamath Falls, Oregon, branch (See page 240)

Looking and Listening . . .

HOUSING

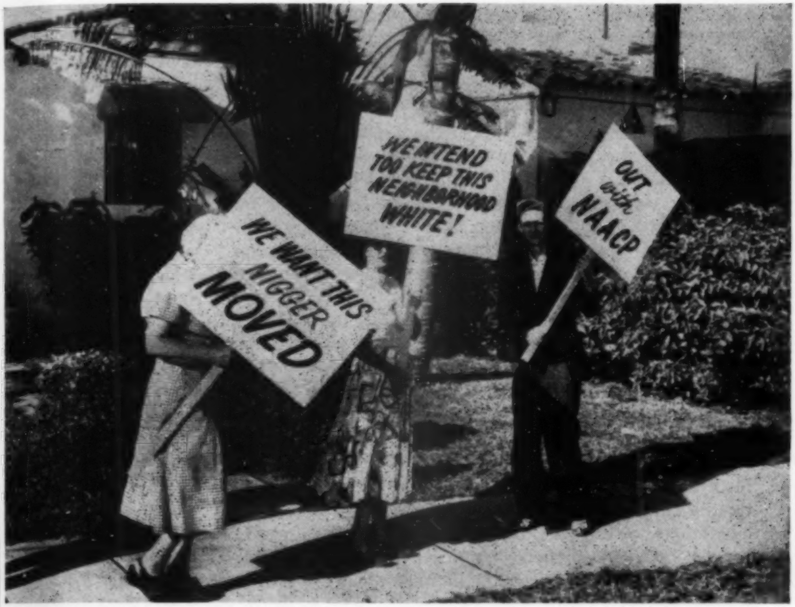
ACCORDING to a recent press release of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, Connecticut Negroes still find it difficult to purchase homes in "white" neighborhoods. The Commission reports the trials and tribulations of some 219 Negro families in purchasing homes in "white" neighborhoods and what has happened to them since. It shows that Connecticut is still far removed from perfection in its treatment of Negro families and that the same elements of suspicion, the same belief in stereotypes that hamper desegregation in the South are also present, impeding integration of Negroes.

When Negroes follow the same urge that has driven all other racial groups to move upward into better neighborhoods, the report shows that they are subject to more humiliating roadblocks than others. And when they finally succeed in purchasing a home in a white neighborhood—a rented home in such a neighborhood is impossible—they are snubbed, insulted, or ignored for a considerable length of time. Gradually, as the stereotype becomes replaced by the reality of the individual there is some gradual acceptance. But while the original "annoyance" at having a Negro family disappears, white neighbors make it clear they would again be annoyed if another Negro family should move in.

The fact that interracial stability can be achieved in private residential neighborhoods is one of the significant findings of the study. On the basis of interviews with white and Negro families in non-segregated neighborhoods, it was found that one-half of the white families had moved into the neighborhoods after a Negro family was already residing there.

Another optimistic part of the report has to do with the non-prejudicial attitude of children. The report says: "Evidence indicates that integration proceeds fairly rapidly in the area of childhood play activities. Younger children are less conscious of the social implications of color differences and their parents on the whole view interracial play activities with favor. Parents seem to be aware of their own prejudicial upbringing when many of them told us they felt interracial play would be good for the child's future understanding. Interaction on these age levels undoubtedly holds the greatest promise for the future."

The report makes it clear that it is concerned not only with the movement of Negroes into white neighborhoods but the acceptance or nonacceptance thereafter as "integrated" members of the community. The 219


WE WANT THIS NIGGER MOVED
WE INTEND TOO KEEP THIS NEIGHBORHOOD WHITE!
OUT with NAACP

United Press

NEGRO HOME PICKETED—*Racial dissension flares up in northwest Miami, Florida, as white citizens picket the home of Negro entertainer Frank Legree ,who moved into the formerly all-white district on February 23. Four men were arrested in the area for attempting to burn a seven-foot cross at the home.*

Negro families that were interviewed were better educated than their white neighbors. They were considerably higher economically and professionally than the average Negro of the state. Neighborhoods that were predominantly Negro or in process of transition were excluded from the study.

Many of these families got their first break through the desegregation of public housing. Then later, as their income increased, they were forced to find private homes. As it is impossible for Negroes to find a rental in a good neighborhood they were forced to purchase homes.

Initial contacts by Negro families were made through real estate agents in about a third of the cases. About 25 per cent of the Negroes interviewed felt they had got unqualifed cooperation. The remaining 75 per cent complained of treatment that ranged from "outright refusal" to "rudeness."

When Negroes directly approached home owners, "About a third said they encountered no difficulty, though several of the owners had sold in order to spite their neighbors because of some grievance. The most frequent type of obstacle encountered was to have the owner appear cooperative over the telephone but refuse to sell when he met the Negro face to face. Others even refused to show the house or raised the price when they found the prospective purchaser was a Negro. Some even resorted to showing the house to the Negro respondent at night."

One bright spot in the report is the fairly general belief that lending institutions and banks presented little difficulty. "Once the Negro had cleared away the roadblocks placed in his path by owners, agents or builders his efforts to obtain financing became relatively easy, though not entirely devoid of difficulty."

Although most families reported some degree of acceptance of Negroes by white neighbors after a period of time, this was largely confined to casual conversations. The report says:

"Only in rare instances did more than ten per cent of the white neighbors say that they had engaged in any form of activity with their Negro neighbors within the home. This proportion occurred among next door neighbors who helped each other out during illnesses, 14 per cent, or visited with each other, 13 per cent.

"Only two per cent of the whites said they ever had dinner together with their Negro neighbors and activities such as bridge or other parties were virtually non-existent. Three fourths of all the white neighbors, including 65 per cent of those next door, said that they engaged in no activities whatever with Negro neighbors within the home."

This lack of social acceptance was also marked in outside activities: "In spite of similarities between our Negro and white respondents in educational, economic and occupational status and in spite of continued residence . . . the process of integration in religious worship and related church activities, and in clubs and other social organizations has proceeded at a minimal pace. This is in fairly sharp contrast to the extent that integration has been achieved in places of public accommodation throughout the state."

However, despite this favorable gain, most white neighbors expressed annoyance at the prospect of additional Negro families. "Although white neighbors seem to be less annoyed after having lived near Negroes and through close contact have modified their attitudes toward particular Negro neighbors as individuals, that does not carry over into favorable attitudes toward new Negro neighbors as a group."

"SUBPOENA THE KLAN"

"IT is time for Congress itself," says a short article in *America*, national Catholic weekly, (February 9, 1957) "to take in hand the problem of right-wing subversion."

One night toward the end of January a small group of robed members of the

Ku Klux Klan marched onto the campus of a distinguished Southern college, set up wooden crosses and burned them. That same night they repeated this act of infamy in front of the home of a Negro. A few days before, in the same city, Klansmen had bombed the home of a respected Negro Catholic family.

These fearful events are taking place in the year 1957. The scene is Mobile, Alabama. The college in question is 127-year-old Spring Hill College, which was integrated three years ago and now enrolls 40 Negroes among its students. Spring Hill is a Catholic institution, administered by the Jesuits.

Before the Klan's fiery crosses burned themselves out, the president of Spring Hill, Rev. Andrew C. Smith, S.J., issued a statement which goes to the social and religious heart of the matter. He said he hoped that a closer study of the 'divine meaning of the symbol which they sought to profane by burning' would

> . . . cause some to change their ways and cease to promote hatred and terror among people supposed to live together in peace and harmony bought for them by the One who died on the Cross.

Meantime, the reign of Klan terror continues to afflict the city of Mobile. The hooded movement spreads, gathering new forces among the ignorant, the bigoted, the irresponsible and the downright lawless elements of Alabama's white supremacists.

Apparently, nothing is going to be done locally to check this fearful KKK resurgence. Father Foley remarks that the 'apathy of the citizenry and the cowed spirit of community figures serve to create a vacuum. . . .' Who, then, is to act? What will be done? What forces are to be brought to bear against this threat to peace, order and law?

In the official U. S. Government *Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications* the Klu Klux Klan is listed (p. 164) as one of a group of right-wing subversive organizations. We strongly urge that Mobile Klan leaders —and identifiable Klan leaders anywhere else in the South—be subpoenaed, called to Washington and thoroughly questioned by a congressional committee. The identity of the Klan ringleaders in Mobile is now widely known. The Imperial Wizard, spokesman for his local band of hoods, has been identified. So have the Great Titan and the Grand Dragon. Right-thinking citizens of Mobile have succeeded in learning the names, addresses and occupations of many other Klan gangsters. This vicious thing should be cut down at the roots. Like Communist spies and saboteurs, these KKK marauders are a menace to our society and our way of life. It is time for Congress itself to take in hand the problem of right-wing subversion.

ECONOMIC PRESSURE

FAY BENNETT, executive secretary of the National Sharecroppers Fund, Inc., points out, in a report to the board of directors of the NSF, that economic pressure is still one of the main weapons of the White Citizens Councils in fighting integration.

From an estimated 250,000 members a year ago, the White Citizens Councils, dedicated to the maintenance of white supremacy, have grown to approximately 350,000 in all the southern states. Although many of its officers appear as responsible leaders in their local communities, and eschew violence, the movement has drawn its largest following from the black belt (rich farming soil) areas where there exists the greatest contrast between plantation owner and poor farm folk—

both white and Negro. In these areas poverty and lack of education have produced the most bigotry and the most easily aroused white mob. In contrast, the Negro has demonstrated a civilized restraint in the face of severe provocation.

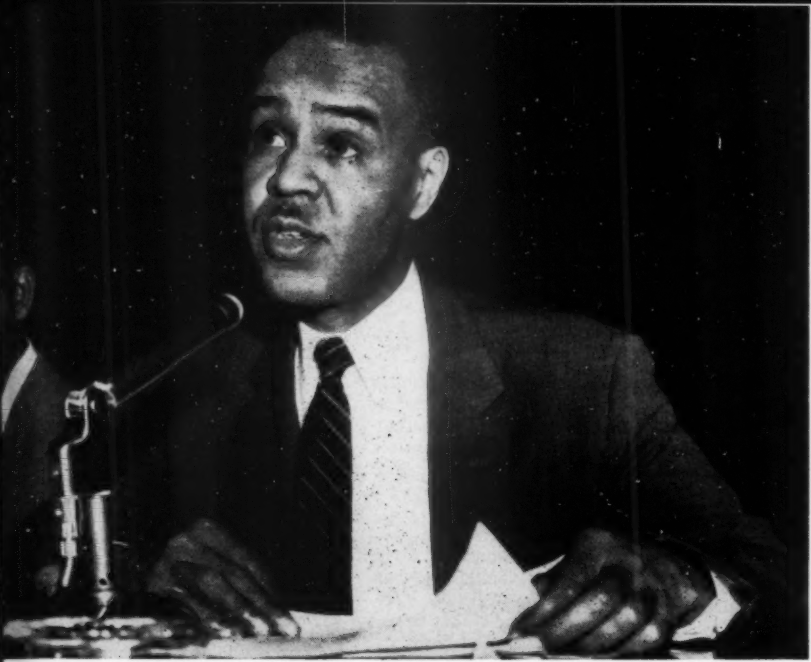
These Councils have acted in two ways to preserve the status quo: (1) overtly, by mob action to prevent enforcement of court orders for school integration; (2) covertly, by economic pressures against Negroes who are enrolled voters or otherwise indicate their insistence on rights guaranteed them by the Constitution.

An example of the former is the Clinton, Tennessee, mob which, aroused by the outsider, John Kasper, almost succeeded in overthrowing civil law in that community because 12 Negro students were enrolled in its high school. This mob was made up primarily of the poor farm folk in the hill country outside Clinton.

Numerous cases of the latter, the covert economic pressure, have come to the attention of National Sharecroppers Fund. In many of these, after proper investigation, NSF has made non-interest bearing loans to tenant and independent small farmers who were about to lose their property, farm equipment and other possessions. One case involved a man's voting right; another his membership in the NAACP; a third his leadership

NAACP WITNESSES *who testified before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, in February, on illegal voting restrictions practiced against Negroes in the South, and the denial of civil rights. Pictured here are (seated from L) Clarence Mitchell, director NAACP Washington bureau; Rev. William H. Borders and Atty. Austin Walden, both of Atlanta, Georgia; back row, Rev. A. Bell and Rev. B. J. Johnson, both of Atlanta; and Ben Shorter, Cuthbert, Georgia.*

Maurice Sorrell



United Press

ROY WILKINS, *executive secretary NAACP, shown as he testified before the Senate subcommittee on constitutional rights, accused Southern Congressmen of resorting to "specious talk—and obscene comedy" in efforts to block civil-rights legislation.*

among local Negro farmers working to set up a cooperative organization for their mutual help.

MISCELLANEOUS

THE youngest Catholic bishop in the world is the son of an eastern African chief. He is 30-year-old Auxiliary Bishop Maurice Otunga of Kisumu, Kenya. Bishop Otunga is the son of the late Chief Babukusu. Named to succeed his father, he renounced the tribal office in order to become a priest. He was formerly secretary to the Apostolic Delegate to East Africa.

THE South Dakota legislature voted in February to abolish an old statute which stated that "marriage between persons of Caucasian or white race and persons of African, Korean, Malayan or Mongolian race is prohibited.' Repeal of the statute had the support of the South Dakota Council of Churches.

What the Branches Are Doing

California: A suit awarding $200 in damages to TRACY branch president Archie Manley against a local barbershop "serves notice to all California barbers that they may no longer hide behind the excuse that they are not trained to 'cut Negro hair'."

The Tracy barbershop case was heard in the Stockton Municipal Court with Mr. Manley as plaintiff and barbershop owner Robert Murillos as defendant. Murillos contended that he was not trained to cut "Negro-type hair," and it was on this basis that Manley was refused service. Municipal Judge Bill Dozier stated in his ruling that "this is not a legal defense of the statute. . . . Mr. Manley's hair is hardly curly, let alone kinky, and has about the degree of curl of a substantial proportion of Caucasians."

Barbershops in the State of California are included among the various public accommodations prohibited by law from discriminating on the account of race, color, religion or national origin.

The WEST COAST OFFICE reveals that protests over "race tags" in armed service oversea assignments have resulted in a Department of Army memorandum banning racial designations on such announcements.

In response to an appeal by their pastor, Rev. J. Raymond Henderson, members of the Second Baptist church of LOS ANGELES placed over a 1,000 NAACP memberships into a basket held in the lap of the minister.

Colorado: Twenty-five delegates representing the COLORADO SPRINGS, DENVER, and PUEBLO branches of the NAACP met on February 17 at the New Hope Baptist church in Denver and organized a Colorado Association of NAACP branches. An executive committee and the following slate of officers were elected: Mrs. Mayola Marsh, Colorado Springs, president; Edward Williams, Pueblo, first vice-president; Le Jean Clark, Denver, second vice-president; Attorney Samuel Menin, Denver, secretary; and A. S. Fisher, Denver, treasurer.

Plans were also outlined for a statewide membership and freedom fund drive to start soon, with 1,300 new members and $1,350 as the goals.

Connecticut: Roy Wilkins was guest speaker at the annual dinner of the NEWPORT branch; president William Newsom of the PROVIDENCE branch was recipient of an NAACP life membership by "friends" of the Association and former members of his local board; Providence also reports the formation of a college chapter at Brown University.

The nineteenth annual New England conference will be held April 27-28 at State Teacher's College in Lowell, Massachusetts. Conference theme will be "Forging Civil Rights in 1957."

ROBIN EVELYN VAUGHAN *of Boston, Massachusetts, is the country's youngest NAACP life member. She was ten-days' old at time picture was taken.*

Illinois: More than a score of community, civic, church, labor groups, social clubs and women's organizations sponsored tables at the seventeenth annual CHICAGO branch benefit tea held in the Parkway Ballroom, 45th and South Parkway, on March 17. The affair was sponsored by the Women's Auxiliary of the branch.

The branch has urged the Chicago board of education to reject a proposal to acquire a site for a new school at 48th and State Streets on the grounds that the site would further racial segregation. The branch also registered protest against selection of a site for a new school to be located between Orleans and Sedgwick and Hill and Wendell Streets on the ground that the site was not a good one for the purposes of achieving an integrated school.

Indiana: Jolee Fritz, director of the Wesley Foundation at Ball State Teacher College of Muncie, Indiana, was featured speaker at the February 17 meeting of the GRAND RAPIDS branch. Miss Fritz was introduced by Albre Love of the branch youth council, while Mildred Murphy, youth council president presided.

Massachusetts: President Lafayette W. Walker of the PITTSFIELD branch issued a letter of public commendation to the Pittsfield Area Council of Churches for organizing their special committee on discrimination in housing. The letter, issued by Mr. Walker on behalf of his branch, was also sent to several local churches, ministers, and others thanking them for their efforts to improve local racial conditions.

Mr. and Mrs. Harold L. Vaughan subscribed to a $500 NAACP life membership for their daughter, 10-day-old Robin Evelyn Vaughan, at the first annual brotherhood breakfast of the BOSTON branch, with Jackie Robinson as guest speaker. "We certainly hope," said the Vaughans, "that long before our daughter is adult the need for the NAACP will no longer exist." "Little Miss Robin Vaughan is now," said life membership co-chairman Kivie Kaplan, "the youngest NAACP life member in the country and I personally wish to congratulate her parents for their investment in freedom."

Michigan: The FLINT branch held its regular monthly meeting on February 17, with a Negro history program. The theme was "Racial Understanding," with the following speakers:

Dr. William A. Simms, local dentist, discussed the contributions of Negroes to the field of science, many of which are little known to the average individual.

Layne's Studio

$$$ FOR CIVIL RIGHTS—*The Queens, New York, chapter of the Jack and Jill of America, Inc., give a $416 push to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc., with presentation of a check by Mrs. Certrude Thompson, president of the ladies' group, to Thurgood Marshall (center), legal defense director-counsel. Looking on are (from L) Mrs. Ann Morgan, Mrs. Hattie Grayson, and Robert L. Carter, NAACP general counsel.*

Melvin Banner, an Emerson junior high school teacher, in relating the accomplishments of Negroes in art, lauded a local artist, Al Washington, whose portrait of C. S. Mott hangs in the Curtis building of the Flint Community College.

Don Coleman, coach at Northern high school, spoke of the sometimes dramatic, often subtle effects of sports on human relations. The word "champion" is almost a magic word in American culture. Whether he be black or white the "Champion" is admired by all.

Dr. Thomas J. Edwards, instructor at the Flint Community College, stated that there were two basic differences between Negroes and whites; the color of the skin, and the way we feel about it. He pointed out that people are not

Timothy Buckley

HENRY L. McCARTHY, *commissioner of Welfare, New York City, on February 7, launched a campaign for NAACP memberships with the local Welfare Department with presentation of his own annual membership fee to Roy Wilkins (third from L), NAACP executive secretary. Mr. McCarthy urged "all staff members to join me in participating in the NAACP's program for the implementation of our basic democratic principles." The drive had secured 1424 members and $5,108.51 as we went to press. In the picture (from L.) are Thomas Allen, Robert J. De Sanctis, second deputy commissioner of welfare; Mary Feeley, and Mrs. Alice Rothholz.*

born prejudiced, this is a learned process.

Moderator of the panel was Herman Gibson, president of the local branch. A question and answer period followed the talks.

Portraits of famous Negroes as well as pamphlets and books dealing with Negro progress were on display.

Minnesota: Rolf Stageberg, superintendent of the Minneapolis Workhouse at Parkers Lake, was guest speaker at the February meeting of the MINNEAPOLIS branch. The branch held a large public meeting on March 7 at which Governor Orville L. Freeman was the principal speaker.

The meeting was held to honor the

Thomas Studio

HEADWAITER *Richmond Fuller (fourth from L), enthusiastic and sincere NAACP worker, receives NAACP life membership plaque for forty Southern House Hotel Waiters, Boston, Massachusetts, from Kivie Kaplan, national co-chairman of NACCP life memberships, during presentation ceremonies at Hotel in Boston. In addition to their life membership, which they paid up in a few months, most of these waiters are taking out individual memberships. Sharing this happy moment are (from L) John Male, Charles Janey, Joseph Kravit, founder and general supervisor of the Southern House; Fuller, Kaplan, prominent Boston business man; Joseph Savoy, Harold Kravit, owner-manager of the Southern House, a life membership subscriber; Rupert Engermann, Joseph King, and Marcus Bennett.*

Joint Committee for Equal Opportunity for its ten years of service to the community in its program of equality of opportunity in employment and housing; to honor Mrs. V. E. Mikkelson, who is the first Minneapolis NAACP life member and to encourage others to take out life memberships; and to solicit memberships from all who wished to join the branch.

Missouri: The Mound City Press Club of St. Louis honored three persons at its sixth annual awards dinner in February at the Hotel Sheraton-Jefferson among whom was Morris Henderson, president of the ST. LOUIS COUNTY branch. An award was presented to Mr. Henderson for his "unselfish devotion to the cause of your fellowmen, unswerving patience in evaluating the important issues of the day and for working toward an ideal of progress among all men."

A new record was set by the ST. LOUIS branch in the life membership field in January when payments and pledges were made totalling $8,000 for sixteen NAACP life memberships. This new record was set at the Jackie Robinson meeting held on January 25 at the Pine Street YMCA.

The group of new life members and pledgees in the St. Louis area include the following business firms, community organizations and individuals: Marcella Cab Company, Alpha Kappa Sorority, 18th Ward Democratic Organization, Dr. Walter A. Younge, Oscar B. Covington, Atty. Frankie M. Freeman, Atty. W. S. Diuguid, Alderman Wayman Smith, Mr. Al Thomas, Mrs. Eurith Mae Powell, Evelyn Roberts, Elsie O. Scott, Fred Weathers, James Warren and Ernest Calloway.

The life membership committee of the St. Louis branch is headed by Fred Weathers, well known local business man and community leader. Mrs. Pelham Robinson is co-chairman of the committee.

Nevada: At a series of public meetings in LAS VEGAS, Lester P. Bailey, West Coast field secretary, told his audience that it seems that Las Vegas is solving its growing segregation problem by creating more segregation. "West of the railroad tracks," said Mr. Bailey, "the city planners and the city fathers have designed the most complete package of racial segregation this side of Mississippi."

New Jersey: The PATERSON youth council sponsored a panel discussion in February on the topic "Can Youth Remove the Wraps of Segregation?" The five panelists who discussed the topic were William Payne, national youth president; Ralph Hinton, Anetta Harris, Anne Currin, and Charles Arrington, advisor to the local council. Mrs. Samuel Williams, advisor to New Jersey youth councils, presented council president, Herman Irving, with the council's charter.

New officers of the ELIZABETH branch are Bravell Nesbitt, president; Vernon Mitchell, first vice-president; Chessie Dently, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Benjamin Hartwell, recording secretary; and Dr. E. B. Marrow, treasurer.

The February meeting of the JERSEY CITY branch was attended by a large and enthusiastic audience.

NAACP national membership secretary Lucille Black was guest speaker at the third annual dinner meeting, held at the Town House on the Green, Morristown, of the MORRIS COUNTY branch. Among the distinguished guests were Honorable J. Raymond Manahan, mayor of Morristown; Honorable Ben-

OFFICIALS *of the Port-Chester-Rye, New York, youth council present $50 check to youth secretary Herbert Wright (second from right) for NAACP freedom fund campaign. Pictured (from L) are Lillian Brown, financial secretary; Donald Seward, president; Elaine Adams, treasurer; Wright; Mrs. Robert Brown, adviser; and Jeane Savage, chairman of the fight for freedom fund committee.*

A. Hansen

jamin Franklin III, assemblyman for the State of New Jersey; and Eugene Bauer, Morristown chief of police.

New York: Under a plan devised by Edward Allen, a Bronx night club proprietor and an active member of the BRONX branch, the branch membership will be able to patronize a different night club in the Bronx every Monday night and by so doing help raise funds and memberships for the local branch. Under this plan every Monday night will be an "NAACP Night" at a specific night club.

The CENTRAL LONG ISLAND branch observed its second annual brotherhood and Negro history week on February 20 at the Suburban Jewish Temple in Wantaugh. Highlight of the program was the awarding of prizes to twelve junior and senior high school students who had competed in a branch-sponsored oratorical contest on the subject "Integration, Like the Bill of Rights, Can be Accepted in all the Schools of our Country."

Oregon: Three foreign students now studying in Oregon colleges were guest speakers at the KLAMATH FALLS branch meeting on February 9.

Compton McKenzie from British Guiana stated he had not known about racial prejudice, since 90 per cent of government offices in his homeland are held by colored people. Alexander Liu from Formosa stated that his family had been fearful of his attending school in this country. Robert Edwueme of Nigeria felt that racial prejudice is incompatible with Christianity.

Elnathan Davis of the Klamath Indian Tribe discussed the latest developments with reference to Public Law 587, which terminates the Klamath Indian Reservation.

The talks were followed by a coffee hour during which questions were asked of the students who came down from Portland for the meeting.

Pennsylvania: Ernest Fleming, chairman of the veterans committee of the PHILADELPHIA branch, arranged a public meeting of the officials of the local veterans' posts at which Clarence Mitchell, head of NAACP's Washington bureau, was guest speaker.

President Harry Greene of the Philadelphia branch announces that more than $2,500 has been collected and pledged at the branch's 1957 freedom-fund meeting.

President Frank D. Davis of the JOHNSTOWN branch reports that his branch has sent $500 to the national office for the NAACP freedom fund. "This sum was voted," Mr. Davis wrote in a letter to Mr. Wilkins, "to the 'Fight for Freedom' campaign with the hope that it will help the association reach its goal of one million dollars in 1957."

Wisconsin: The MILWAUKEE branch recently met with local organizations seeking a firmer FEPC act for the State of Wisconsin.

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College and School News

President DeWitt of VIRGINIA UNION UNIVERSITY announces the appointment of three staff members. Dr. Marcellus E. Toney, Jr., to the department of natural sciences and mathematics and Howard L. Jones to teach courses in physical education and to coach basketball. Rufus Wells, a former newspaper editor, is the new university director of publicity.

Dr. Proctor was principal speaker at the Second Annual Institute on Human Relations which met at Kingston, North Carolina. His subject was "Brotherhood in a Changing America."

Among recent speakers at Virginia Union have been Dr. Clifton R. Jones, Morgan sociology professor, and Dr. Martin Luther King, leader of the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott.

Dr. Martin Luther King and Dr. Mark Chester Ebersole, chaplain of Bucknell University, shared speaking honors at the university's annual week of prayer program February 24-March 1.

■

FISK UNIVERSITY will hold an eight-week workshop for secondary teachers of social studies from June 10 through August 2. Dr. Preston Valien is director of the program. The workshop, partially subsidized by the Phelps-Stokes Fund, is designed to improve the quality of teaching in secondary schools.

■

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A working plan for the discovery of undiscovered student talent has been outlined in *Blueprint for Talent Searching: America's Hidden Manpower,* written by Richard L. Plaut, executive vice-chairman of the NATIONAL SCHOLARSHIP SERVICE AND FUND FOR NEGRO STUDENTS. *Blueprint* offers a seven-point program which will enable local communities themselves to spot and encourage those talented children, among the millions of deprived youngsters, who constitute "our most valuable human resources."

The task of finding and developing this potential talent, Mr. Plaut points out, requires identification in the early school years, followed by intensive guidance, enriched school curricula, and cultural stimulation, as well as the financial aid needed for the student to go to college.

■

Winners of the OMEGA PSI PHI FRATERNTY high-school-essay contest are John J. Flynn, a senior at Gonzaga Catholic High School, Washington, D.C., first-prize of $125; Helma Miller, a senior at Milwaukee Catholic High School, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, second prize of $75; and Mary Leola Flowers, a senior at the Carver High School, Gadsen, Alabama, third place award of $50. Subject of the three student essays was "Wanted: Techniques for Strengthening and Furthering our Democratic and Christian Heritage."

■

John Jasper Spurling of St. Albans, New York, is the first Negro chairman of the sociology department at ELIZABETH COLLEGE, Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania. Mr. Spurling was formerly on the faculty at Johnson C. Smith university. He is a graduate of Talladega, the Graduate School of Arts and Science, and the School of Education of New York university.

■

Michael Jenkins and Carolyn Joyce have been elected president

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and vice-president, respectively, of the student council of the PIERRE S. DUPONT SCHOOL (Wilmington, Delaware) for the next semester.

According to school officials, Jenkins is the first Negro to be elected president of a student council in any integrated school in Wilmington.

■

Theme of the second annual INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS (Kingston, North Carolina) held February 10-12 was "Facets of Brotherhood." Speakers were Dr. A. Purnell Bailey, Methodist minister of Richmond, Virginia; Dr. S. M. Proctor, president of Virginia Union university; and Dr. Harry Golden, Charlotte, North Carolina, editor of *The Carolina Israelite.*

■

Leslie Perowne, head of program training, GOLD COAST BROADCASTING SERVICE, has been appointed director of broadcasting, Sierra Leone, West Africa. Mr. Perowne, who is on secondment from the BBC, came to the Gold Coast from Nigeria in June 1955. He has played a key part in helping forward the change and expansion of Gold Coast programs.

Dr. W. E. Duncanson, principal of KUMASI COLLEGE OF TECHNOLOGY (Ghana, West Africa), in a speech delivered at Kumasi college, says that the progressive development of "the country depends on a well-educated population."

■

Frankie Weathers, a junior music student at LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.), won out in finals over four-

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teen promising young singers from four states to gain the right to compete in national auditions held by the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York City. Miss Weathers' entry was sponsored by Lincoln. She has been outstanding as a singer both at Lincoln and in her native St. Louis.

Prizes totalling $175 await the winners in the 1957 annual essay contest sponsored by the Lincoln department of journalism. Topic for this year is "Does My Home Town Newspaper Protect Minorities?"

■

Dr. Thomas P. Fraser, professor and head of the department of science education at MORGAN STATE COLLEGE, was elected vice-president of the National Association for Research in Science Teaching at its thirtieth annual meeting in Atlantic City, New Jersey, February 15-17. The Morgan scientist is a past president of the Maryland Biology Teachers Association, and was recently appointed director of the NSF sponsored Morgan state college summer institute for high school teachers of science.

■

FAYETTEVILLE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGE president Dr. Rudolph Jones took part in the ninth annual convention of the American Association of Colleges for Teachers Education (AACTE) held in the Morrison Hotel, Chicago, February 14-16.

Dr. Hobart Jarrett, chairman of the division of the humanities at Bennett college, Greensboro, North Carolina, was guest speaker at Fayetteville's observance of its annual English Emphasis Day.

■

BARBER-SCOTIA COLLEGE observed 90th founders' day on January 27, with Dr. Andrew E. Kurth as principal speaker.

President Cozart announced, during the founders' day program, that the college has received $15,000 for improvement of its dormitory space. Of this sum, $1000 was raised by the faculty and students.

The college also reports that fifty-one students made the honor roll by maintaining an average of "B" or above.

■

MEHARRY MEDICAL COLLEGE mourns the loss of Dr. C. S. McMurray, professor of gynecology, who died on January 18. For nearly fifteen years, Dr. McMurray gave

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practically all gynecology lectures to students of Meharry.

According to Dr. Horace Goldie, the National Cancer Institute has renewed his contract with a three-year grant. For 1956-1957 the amount is $13,800, and for succeeding years, $14,000 each year.

■

The board of directors of the SOUTHERN CONFERENCE EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC., has urged Congress to pass legislation implementing the civil-rights program of the Eisenhower Administration, and has requested President Eisenhower to make an appropriate declaration to the nation of his position on the issue.

■

Dr. Kenneth Brown, Danforth Foundation head, was convocation speaker at the 90th anniversary of MOREHOUSE COLLEGE. Other speakers during the anniversary observance were Dr. Mordecai Johnson of Howard and Dr. John W. Davis, president-emeritus of West Virginia state college.

The Charles D. Hubert lectures at Morehouse were initiated February 12-13 by Dr. George D. Kelsey, a professor at Drew university, Madison, New Jersey.

■

Bristol-Myers' president, Lee Hastings Bristol, has accepted national chairmanship of the annual spring campaign of the UNITED NEGRO COLLEGE FUND. Stanley C. Hope, president Esso Standard Oil, is national vice-chairman. William T. Gossett, vice-president Ford Motor Company, and James E. Stamps, regional director Social Security Administration, will serve as co-chairman.

■

The Carver Foundation, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, is offering fellowships for research and graduate study toward the Master of Science degrees in chemistry, foods and nutrition, agronomy, and poultry science. They are available to students with high scholastic records, who have received the Bachelor of Science degree from an accredited college, and who show promise of research ability.

■

Moses S. Belton, director of public relations at JOHNSON C. SMITH UNIVERSITY, has undertaken a special assignment for the United Negro College Fund in the Washington, D.C., area.

■

President Arthur D. Gray of Talladega was principal speaker at VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE's 75th anniversary convocation.

The college school of commerce held a conference on internship training on February 8, with Dr. Seymour Wolfbein, chief of division of manpower and employment, U.S. Department of Labor, delivering the main address.

■

Some 1,600 Christian educators of thirty-nine Protestant denominations met in Cincinnati, Ohio, February 1-15 to find new ways of strengthening the nation's entire Christian education movement. The annual conference was called by the division of Christian education of the National Council of Churches.

■

Blind W. Wayne Durham, 21-year-old junior at Columbia University, has been placed on the dean's list because of his superior academic achievement. Mr. Durham, who has been totally blind since the age of fourteen, is a sociology major who has maintained a "B-plus" average for six courses during the first semester of his junior year. He gets around the campus with aid of his seeing-eye dog, Dottie. Mr. Durham's home is in Brooklyn, New York.

■

April 7 was the opening date of Atlanta University's sixteenth annual exhibition of paintings, sculpture, and prints by Negro artists. Purchase awards totalling $1,400 will be given by the university.

The Atlanta university school of library service will share in a grant of $17,500 made available for scholarships by the H. W. Wilson Company to nationally accredited library schools.

Dr. Ray Birdwhistell told the university arts and sciences forum in February that there is more communication through bodily movements than through any other means. The University of Buffalo anthropologist was speaking on "Kinesics and Communication." "Kinesics" is a term invented by Dr. Birdwhistell to describe the scientific study of body motion.

■

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Nine Spelman College students will be listed in the forthcoming issue of *Who's Who in American Universities and Colleges*. They were chosen on the basis of leadership, scholarship, character, and service to Spelman.

The Atlanta-Morehouse-Spelman Players presented "Blood Wedding" February 25-26 in Howe Hall on the Spelman campus.

■

Dr. Gordon F. Ekholm, associate curator of archeology at The American Museum of Natural History, left in February for Tabasco, Mexico, where he will begin the second phase of an important archeological study of the ancient Maya.

The fifth Archbold Expedition to New Guinea has returned from one of the world's least explored areas

(*Continued on page* 253)

Book Reviews

RAMPANT RACIALISM

Naught for Your Comfort. By Trevor Huddleston. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956. 253pp. $3.75.

This book headlines the troubles and the stark racism of the Union of South Africa as no other book does. Father Huddleston, an Anglican priest with an understanding of the realities of life, lived in slums admist filth, dirt, poverty, depression, and the throttling of human dignity that create within the personality a deepening hatred, takes one small section of Johannesburg in *Naught for Your Comfort* to let us see why South Africa and bitterness are synonymous today.

Relating experiences that involve him in situations concerned with the humiliating pass laws, the desperate housing plight, the "Christianity" of the Dutch Reformed Church, the delinquent *tsotsis* youth and their spreading influence, the unbelievable living conditions of a Bantu "location" and its shanty town, the shame of the Christian church that "sleeps on" in the face of great wrong, the South African Gestapo police, inspiring biographies of dedicated blacks and whites, the "new" Bantu education that leads to lifelong servitude, the misery resulting from the segregated residence laws, the brutality and color-divided unequal "justice" of South African courts that makes trial by jury undesired by Africans, the complete pervasiveness of jim crow in all aspects of society. All of this is revealed through true to life stories of touching sensitivity that give an incontestable aura of truth and body to a truism that "racialism in South Africa is the same as racialism everywhere else" and it is inconceivable that the whites there, "with no justifiable claim to moral leadership, can hope to mold the continent of Africa to their pattern." Father Huddleston has produced one of the most forthright, honest, and searching documents of its kind yet available on the Union of South Africa.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

One Man's Africa. By John Seymour. New York: The John Day Company, 1956, 255 pp. $4.00.

One Man's Africa is a roustabout's report of his twelve years of wandering through parts of southern and eastern Africa and his cogent observations about changes going on there. Written in a personal style that is easy to read, although at times disconnected, because of a tendency to lapse into moments of philosophy and reflection, Mr.

Seymour has added a helpful volume to the mounting literature about Africa. Living with Africans, hunting with them, engaging in discussions with whites about their feelings on racial and other matters, the author provides insights into the thinking processes of both blacks and whites that indicate that no matter the present obstacles, the African will eventually become dominant in his own country.

He found the overall pattern for the African to shape up something like this:

> Their sole *raison d'etre* was to work for, wait on the White Man. They had no real life of their own at all. In the day they worked. . . . At night they went back to their little location as a plough horse goes back to its stable: to stay there until they were wanted again. They could have no land of their own, no community, no country, no traditions, no intercourse with others of their race, and no freedom. Their children could never become educated, and they themselves could never better their condition in any way. . . . In no way at all could they live their old African tribal life, and they could not change to any other proper kind of life.

Realizing this Mr. Seymour could see more clearly and understand more intelligently the turmoil going on throughout the continent as the African, quickly in some places, more slowly in others, but everywhere, is rising against this bleak existence prescribed for him by whites.

As the author moves from region to region working as a farmer, fisherman, miner, livestock officer, and so on he gets to know people from all strata and all races. He makes interesting comments on aspects of all of these occupations, especially as related to the inferior role of Africans, no matter how intelligent or skillful they may be. He points out shortcomings of the British in shirking their responsibility in some places and compliments them for what they've done in others. There is trenchant comment on problems raised by increasing white immigration to certain areas, positive benefits deriving from the Mau Mau situation in Kenya, results of the rise of an African intelligentsia, "passing" of Coloreds in South Africa, missionaries and their work, the white labor movement and its rigid jim-crowism, the British Colonial civil servant and many other subjects. Here in palatable form is some of the best material available on the people

NEGROES ON THE MARCH

A Frenchman's Report on the American Negro Struggle

by Daniel Guérin

A distinguished scholar and a champion of the independence movements in the French colonies, Guérin has written more than a brilliant study of the anti-Jim Crow movement in America. *Negroes on the March* is a critique of current Negro leadership and program and a prognosis for the future.

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and problems of Southwest Africa and the folks who inhabit the Somalilands.

Interspersed with bits of humor that lend life to the book, the author adheres closely to his announced intention to write a volume "about the ordinary folk who really make the country what it is." For those who have little time to devote to perusal of more weighty tomes but yet would know something about East Africa and the Union of South Africa and surrounding areas, one will find this travelogue with an intimate touch the thing for him.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

IMPORTANT REISSUES

DR. JOHN HOPE FRANKIN is a teacher who happens also to be scholarly historian. Ten years ago he put us all in his debt with his history of the Negro in the United States titled *From Slavery to Freedom*. His publisher now reissues the book in a second edition, revised and enlarged, *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of American Negroes* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, XV+639+XLII pp., $7.50). Here the reader will find the essential facts about the beginnings of the American Negro in Africa, a vivid description of the African slave trade, with comparisons of the various slave systems in the New World; the story of the Civil War, and the subsequent vicissitudes of the Negro in his struggles for complete equality in American life. The author's "Mid-Century Inventory" reviews the "improvement of the status of Negroes" since 1947, which he finds "was neither uniform nor without vigorous opposition in some quarters."

What is missing in this edition is new material on the Brazilian racial situation. The author's authorities are dated, since their books no longer mirror racial relations in present-day urban Brazil.

Both Dr. Franklin and Dr. E. Franklin Frazier are students of Negro history, but Dr. Frazier, as a sociologist, although he examines much the same material as Dr. Franklin, is concerned with the institutional aspects of his subject. Dr. Frazier's *The Negro in the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957, Revised edition, XXXIII+769pp., $6.40) situates Negro institutions in the broader American society. First published eight years ago, Dr. Frazier's book exhibits profound scholarship, excellent narrative, and shrewd insight into racial problems.

TWO years ago Dr. Frazier published *Bourgeoisie Noire* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1955), an intimate study of the awkward position of the new but exiguous Negro middle class. Reissued by an American publisher, *Black Bourgeoisie* (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, 264pp., $4.00) is recipient of the $500 biennial MacIver Award from the American Sociological Society as the best contribution to the progress of sociology. This is Dr. Frazier's thesis: "As the result of the break with its past, the black bourgeoisie is without cultural roots in either the Negro world with which it refuses to identify, or the white world which refuses to permit the black bourgeoisie to share its life." In order to escape from this intolerable situation the black bourgeoisie has created a world of make-believe. And, the author adds, "the masks which they wear to play their sorry roles conceal the feelings of inferiority and of insecurity and the frustrations that haunt their inner lives."

Although the author's indictment has the ring of truth, there remains the problem of proving the extent to which this "world of make-believe" dominates middle-class Negro life. Negro middle-class values are, of course, American middle-class values distorted and exaggerated because of the Negro's economic, political, and social impotence in the American scene. The special value of this provocative book consists in Dr. Frazier's unsurpassed firsthand knowledge of the class he describes.

Another recently published history of the American Negro is Dr. J. W. Schulte Nordholt's *Het volk dat in duisternis wandelt: De Geschiedenis van de Negers in Amerika* (Netherlands, Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus, 1956, 282pp.). *The People that Walked in Darkness: The History of the Negro in America* is not a reissue, but the first edition of a perceptive analysis of the American Negro and his problems by a young Dutch historian who spent some time in this country. Dr. Schulte Nordholt devotes more of his book to slavery and its aftermath than his Negro colleagues. He also writes discriminatingly about the Harlem Renaissance and about the Negro arts and literature.

THE Noonday Press of New York City encouraged, no doubt, by the sucess of its cloth-bound editions of Machado de Assis' *Epitaph of a Small Winner* and *Dom Casmurro* has now reprinted them in its "Noonday Paperbacks" series at $1.25 a volume. Dr. William L. Grossman is translator of *Epitaph;* Helen Caldwell, of *Dom Casmurro,* which has an introduction by Waldo Frank.

Machado de Assis, who died on September 29, 1908, was a Brazilian mulatto who became his country's greatest literary figure as well as the most admired Brazilian writer of his generation. His *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas,* or the *Posthumous Memoirs of Brás Cubas* as the *Epitaph* was originally called, was published seventy-seven years ago as installments in the *Revista Brasileira.* The novel is a study in disillusionment, with digs at optimistic philosophies, dishonest politicians, prebendary virtues, and mundane frailities. *Epitaph's* sharp humor makes the book an enthralling experience for the civilized.

Dom Casmurro ("Mr. Grumpy") is a drama of love and jealousy in nineteenth-century Brazil. Bento Santiago, known throughout the story as Bentinho, married his childhood sweetheart Capitú. But Bentinho can never be certain whether their child is his or that of his close friend Ezequiel. This is the shadow that gives his life its haunting futility.

DANIEL GUERIN examines the problems of the Caribbean in his latest book, *Les Antilles Dócolonisées* (Paris: Présence Africaine, 1956, 188 pp.) The text of *The Decolonized Antilles,* with a few excisions, first appeared in the January and February 1956 issues of Jean-Paul Startre's *Les Temps Modernes.* What M. Guérin does is to give the reader an overall picture of what Aimé Césaire calls, in his Introduction, "ce bric-á-brac de terres." The author unfolds the historical past in the First Part; the probable future, in the Second Part.

What is interesting about the Antilles is the natural unity of the area despite the fact that its ideals, people, politics, botany, and zoology are all imported. Another fact is the abysmal ignorance one particular island may have of another island just across the water merely because it happens to be French or Dutch or Spanish or American. West Indian problems stem mainly from poverty, (a result of their one-crop economies), ill-health and over population. There are, of course, the problems of race and language and education. But today the idea of a West Indian nationality is begining to develop, and with it a sense of commonalty and of mutual responsibility.

The tendency in the British islands, M. Guérin points out, is toward autonomy; in the French Islands, toward assimilation; and in the Dutch, a compromise between the two. Martinique and Guadeloupe have, during the centuries, been much more Gallicized than the British islands have been Anglicized, he says.

Mr. Guérin's book is a valuable addition to the growing shelf of books on the Caribbean, and a must for students of interracial problems. It is heavily documented and full of pertinent insights.

James W. Ivy

Race and Nationality in American Life. By Ocar Handlin. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1957. XIII+300pp. $4.00.

Understanding Minority Groups. Edited by Joseph B. Gittler. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1956. XIII+139pp. $3.25.

America is a land of minorities and until the day comes when the people here form a single entity as a people books on race and minorities and nationalities are going to continue to flood the bookmarts. And if they all have a pointed purpose like this one by Mr. Handlin, they will perform a continually useful service in welding our nation into a strong, really humanistically based state in which we can take real pride that democracy here means exactly that for all of its citizens. In the United States, Jews, Negroes, and Indians in particular, as well as Latins, Slavs, and Orientals have not been permitted the "pursuit of happiness" as "free and equal" men. Just how little happiness, how unequal and unfree, and how alien have been those rights to so many millions for so long make up the core of this volume. It contains a most timely piece on "Israel and the Mission of America," together with a unique picture of thoughts that flow through the minds of those who came here and then returned to the lands of their origin, "the returned emigrants."

Professor Handlin has not written informationally anything new; yet *Race and Nationality in American Life* is commended as an useful book for these parlous times.

If you want a fuller contemporaneous treatment of some of the people Handlin mentions, you should turn to Joseph B. Gittler, for here are reports for *Understanding Minority Groups* composed of Catholics, Negroes, Indians, Jews, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans by well qualified individuals, each of whom has devoted special study to the group analyzed and worked to find machinery to move these less privileged Americans into the main stream of our national life. Although the volume is a compilation of papers presented at the Center for the Study of Group Relations of the University of Rochester in 1955, they have much to offer since they are current and generally well written. The editor has thoughtfully tied the materials together with a final chapter that outlines basic principles for gaining insight into the comprehension of minorities and removing obstacles of communication with them that are, perhaps, the *sine qua non* in the elimination of intergroup tensions.

Hugh H. Smythe

A Gentle Knight: My Husband, Walter White. By Poppy Cannon White. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1956. 309pp. $3.95.

This is not a biography of the late Mr. White, not even of the last seven years of his life, and anyone who reads this book expecting rounded portrayal is in for disappointment. Mrs. White describes only the short idyllic span of their marriage, with brief references to their earlier meetings. The book is mostly chatter about celebrities, parties, and places visited, with much name-dropping.

Mrs. White does not seem to have ever understood the real nature of the American race problem, nor her husband's role in the Negro's fight for first-class citizenship. And she is apparently not aware that their union was not a veridic interracial marriage, since Mr. White was phenotypically white and "Negro" only by grace of the American "one-drop black blood" definition of Negro. Although the author mentions her three children time and again, one searches the book in vain for references to her husband's son and daughter.

A Gentle Knight is the treacly report of a doting wife, not the objective limning of a biographer.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

Cultural Values of American Ethnic Groups. By Sister Frances J. Woods. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. xii+402 pp. $4.50.

Using data from case records, interviews, personal histories, and secondary sources, while not neglecting theoretical implications, the author has made a competent analysis of certain factors found in selected ethnic and racial group patterns that reveal values which motivate and shape life-ways of some of the respective peoples. Factors of language, religion, magic, economics, government, recreation, education, and family are examined, and specific personal roles such as paternal, maternal, children, and sex are looked into with insight and understanding for Orientals, Mexicans, Negroes, Jews, Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and others.

Although the author has tried to do an honest and objective job, like many other workers in the social sciences who try to deal with ethnic and racial groups about which they really know very little, she has compounded an error the reviewer finds practiced consistently—the use of out-of-date source materials which, in view of dynamic changes in almost all American minority groups, have invalidated her interpretations and made them untrue for current life. Likewise, she has constructed misleading configurations in each group by lumping all into a pattern that is perhaps representative of only one socio-economic stratum (usually the lower level), when the patterns in all groups differ according to social strata. This defect is especially noticeable as regards Negroes, where her errors stand out strikingly through reliance on class structural materials that date back more than fifteen years in some cases. But on the whole, Sister Frances has made her generalizations with qualifications, pointed out various problems presented by specific elements in particular groups, and enhanced the value of this work through inclusion of a lengthy bibliography.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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GHANA'S SILENT HERO

(*Continued from page* 214)

the colonies. We now let his friend Richard Wright describe him:

"George is, in my opinion, the greatest living authority on the fervent nationalist movements sweeping Black Africa today. Not only does he know these movements intimately, not only does he understand them in terms of their leaders, aims, structures, and ideologies, but George and his life *are those movements, aims and ideologies*. His activity has, for more than twenty-five years, helped to shape and mould those movements in all their bewildering complexity. George has ranged from the Kremlin to the African bush, from the asylum for exslaves called Freetown (Sierra Leone) to the multi-racial societies of the West Indies, from the lonely black men lost in the white London fogs to the store front churches in the Black Belts of America. Indeed, George is the veritable ideological father of many of the nationalist movements in Black Africa, having been the mentor of scores of African nationalist leaders who now hold or will soon hold power. By his background, his training, and his experience, he possesses a wealth of knowledge which he has selflessly poured into the minds of his black brothers."

Mr. Padmore has published eight books and scores of pamphlets and newspaper and magazine articles on Africa and colonialism.

COLLEGE NEWS

(*Continued from page* 246)

after having collected over 67,000 zoological and botanical specimens, according to an announcement from the Museum.

The domestic dog, and the wide variation of distinct types within his tribe, was subject of an exhibit on February 8 titled "Best of Breed." To show the great diversity of size, shape, and color in dogdom, seventy-nine breeds of "man's best friend" were represented in the exhibit in sculptured scale models about one-third of actual size. The collection of models, which is used for research purposes in the Museum's department of mammals, was presented to the Museum in 1947 by Mrs. Irenee du Pont.

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THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER opened an office in New York City on February 1 in an effort to expedite program and general development in the East, president H. K. Newburn's office has announced. The office is located in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Building, United Nations Plaza at 46th Street.

Evidences of a sudden upsurge of interest in educational television by the press and the general public are being noted by supporters of the new medium of education.

"YOUNGEST" AMBASSADOR

(*Continued from page* 218)

his first visit was to Dr. Rowe. When the latter died, in December 1946, M. Bellegarde published a moving tribute, later reprinted in his *Dessalines a parlé,* (Port-au-Prince, 1948). Intitled "Citizen of the Americas," this article at one point spoke of Dr. Rowe's youthfulness:

> He was young notwithstanding his more than seventy-five years, because, motivated by a great ideal of peace, justice, and brotherhood, he always kept looking ahead, toward the future, toward the progressive realization of his dream. Ever young are those who have faith in the future, those whom this faith inspires and animates in their beneficent activity.

If we accept this definition, Dantès Bellegarde at seventy-nine is surely Haiti's youngest ambassador.

Virginia's dynamic
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Tinsley
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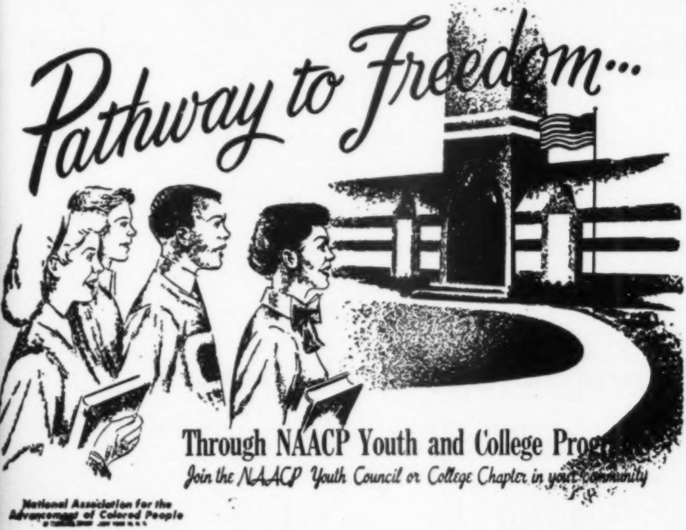
CHURCH

Scott L. Henderson

THE ZETA IOTA *chapter of the Portsmouth, Virginia, Omega Psi Phi fraternity becomes the first Portsmouth fraternity to take out an NAACP life membership as Dr. Jesse Brown (right) presents a $500 check to Dr. J. Tinsley, president of the Richmond branch and chairman of the Virginia state conference's life membership committee.*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